

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2372

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EO 11652: NA  
TAGS: OVIP YO US  
SUBJ: KARDELJ VISIT; A PRIMER ON HIS THINKING

1. EDVARD KARKELJ HAS AS GREAT A CLAIM AS ANY OTHER MAN TO BEING THE INTELLECTUAL FATHER AND CURRENT CREATIVE FORCE BEHIND THE COMMUNIST WORLD'S MOST DEMOCRATIC DOMESTIC POLICY-- "SELF-MANAGEMENT"--AND THE THIRD WORLD'S FOREIGN POLICY-- PHILOSOPHY--"NON-ALIGNMENT". THEREFORE IT IS OF GENERAL IMPORTANCE TO UNDERSTAND HIS THINKING ON THESE TWO SUBJECTS, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE OF LIGHT IT SHEDS ON BASIC YUGO POLICIES; IT IS EquALLY IMPORTANT THAT THOSE HE WILL BE MEETING IN WASHINGTON BE ABLE IMPRESS HIM WITH THE FACT THAT THEY ARE FAMILIAR WITH HIS THOUGHT.

2. SELF-MANAGEMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY. UNLIKE OTHER MARXISTS IN POWER, KARDELJ DOES NOT CLAIM THAT YUGOSLAVIA HAS SOLVED THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN RIGHTS. LIKE PRESIDENT CARTER,

HE RECENTLY STATED "NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD CAN CLAIM TO HAVE SOLVED THIS PROBLEM IN AN EXEMPLARY FASHION, STILL LESS THAT IT IS ALWAYS IMPARTIAL WITH REGARD TO THIS ISSUE". BUT WHILE HE ASSERTS THAT "THE PROTECTION OF DEMOCRATIC

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HUMAN RIGHTS IS ALWAYS A TOPICAL ISSUE", HE IS CONCERNED THAT ITS PURSUIT NOT WEAKEN THE SPREAD OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE-- WHICH HE BELIEVES IS THE PRECONDITION FOR PROGRESS AND LIBERALIZATION WITHIN ALL SOCIETIES.

3. AT THE SAME TIME, KARDELJ IS CONVINCED THAT YUGOSLAVIA'S UNIQUE SYSTEM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT ULTIMATELY WILL ACHIEVE

A GREATER DEGREE OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAN OTHER SYSTEMS. HE VIEWS WESTERN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACIES AND THE SOVIET CENTRALIZED SYSTEM AS PROGRESSIVE IN THEIR TIME (YUGOSLAVIA HAS TRIED BOTH) BUT NOT THE HIGHEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY OF WHICH MANKIND IS CAPABLE. HE ASSERTS THAT BOTH ARE BASICALLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC AS ONE CLASS (THE CAPITALISTS OR THE PARTY) TELLS INDIVIDUAL WORKERS WHAT TO DO AND DICTATES THEIR DESTINIES. KARDELJ BELIEVES THE BIGNESS AND CENTRALIZATION CHARACTERISTIC OF THESE SYSTEMS IS INEFFICIENT AND DEHUMANIZAING.

4. HIS ANSWER TO THIS ANTI-DEMOCRATISM IS "SELF-MANAGEMENT" -- A SYSTEM IN WHICH THE WORKERS THEMSELVES CONTROL FACTORIES AND MOST OTHER INSTITUTIONS THROUGH WORKERS COUNCILS. POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE MADE FROM THE BOTTOM-UP THROUGH A SYSTEM OF ELECTED ASSEMBLIES BEGINNING AT THE COUNTY LEVEL. IN PRACTICE THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS AND PRESIDENT TITO PERSONALLY STILL PLAY THE MAJOR GUIDING AND COHESIVE ROLE. KARDELJ WOULD ARGUE THIS IS NECESSARY BECAUSE YUGOSLAVIA IS STILL A RELATIVELY BACKWARD COUNTRY POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, ONE TORN BY AGE-OLD DISPUTES AMONG THE NATIONALITIES AND FACING SERIOUS FOREIGN THREATS -- IN SHORT THAT YUGOSLAVS HAVE NOT BEEN SUFFICIENTLY UNITED AND MATURE TO DO WITHOUT A STRONG PARTY.

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5. BUT AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF "CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING", KARDELJ BELIEVES (WITH SOME JUSTIFICATION) THAT A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE, AND THAT THE CHALLENGE NOW IS TO ACHIEVE THE SAME DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE. THUS IN A SPEECH JUNE 13TH HE COINED THE TERM "SELF-MANAGING PLURALISM". KARDELJ NOW STATES THAT DIFFERING INTERESTS AND OPINIONS ARE INEVITABLE EVEN IN AN ADVANCED SOCIALIST SOCIETY (THUS "PLURALISM") AND THAT THESE MUST BE ALLOWED TO WORK THEMSELVES OUT, TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS WITHOUT PARTY DIRECTIVES (THUS "SELF-MANAGING"). SPECIFICALLY HE CALLS FOR THE PARTY TO CHANGE FROM DICTATING DECISIONS FROM OUTSIDE THE ASSEMBLIES AND WORKERS COUNCILS, TO PARTICIPATING IN THEM ON A MORE EQUAL AND DEMOCRATIC BASIS. THE PARTY ULTIMATELY IS SUPPOSED TO ASSUME A ROLE OF OFFERING PHILOSOPHICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL GUIDANCE, TO BE ONLY ONE OF MANY EXISTING

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SOCIAL-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

6. WHILE NOT A LIBERAL IN OUR SENSE, KARDELJ IS A LIBERALIZING INFLUENCE WITHIN THE PARTY AND ON TITO. FOR FORTY YEARS TITO'S CLOSEST DEPUTY, HE HAS PROVIDED THAT SUPERB POLITICAL TACTICIAN WITH A PHILOSOPHIC FRAMEWORK FOR BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY. THERE HAVE BEEN UPS-AND-DOWNS IN THEIR MOVEMENT TOWARD A MORE DEMOCRATIC YUGOSLAVIA AND EVEN TODAY THERE ARE A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS IN THIS COUNTRY. BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT THIS IS FAR AND AWAY THE MOST OPEN AND INNOVATIVE COMMUNIST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD. AND THEY MAY BE ON THE VERGE OF A NEW PUSH IN A LIBERAL DIRECTION. KARDELJ'S DIALOGUE IN WASHINGTON COULD HAVE AN IMPACT IN THIS REGARD, JUST AS THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALREADY HAS HELPED TO SHAPE THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITHIN YUGOSLAVIA. AS YUGOSLAVS ARE ENORMOUSLY OVERSENSITIVE TO CRITICISM AND PRESSURE, HIS INTERLOCUTORS SHOULD STRIVE TO GIVE KARDELJ THE FEELING THAT WE ARE FACING COMMON PROBLEMS AND HAVE COMMON LONG-TERM GOALS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE

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WOULD FIND THE PRESIDENT'S WELFARE REFORM LEGISLATION AS IT STRIVES TO PROVIDE A MINIMUM INCOME AND JOBS OF REAL INTEREST. ORDINARY AMERICANS' PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-

MAKING WITHIN THEIR FACTORIES, UNIVERSITIES AND POLITICAL BODIES WOULD ALSO BE OF INTEREST. WE SHOULD STRESS OUR DESIRE TO GET AWAY FROM IDEOLOGICAL SHIBBOLETHS, OUR BELIEF THAT AS ALL ECONOMICS NOW HAVE MAJOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS THE CAPITALIST-SOCIALIST DICHOTOMY IS NO LONGER SO MEANINGFUL AND THE REAL ISSUES ARE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. OUR OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO TRY TO DRAW YUGOLSAVS INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF WESTERN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, NOT TO IDENTIFY THEM WITH, AND DEAL WITH THEM AS IF THEY WERE A PART OF THE SOVIET CAMP.

7. NON-ALIGNMENT. KARDELJ'S FOREIGN POLICY COUNTER-PART FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT IS NON-ALIGNMENT. HE APPLIES THE SAME PRINCIPLES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -- FREEDOM FROM DICTATION OF TWO "MONOPOLISTIC" SUPER-POWERS, CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND POOR, PROGRESSIVE SOCIO-POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF MANKIND.

-- FIRST, KARDELJ SEES NON-ALIGNMENT AS THE LATEST STAGE IN A HISTORIC PROCESS WHICH BEGAN WITH THE STRUGGLES OF COLONIAL NATIONS TO WIN INDEPENDENCE FROM THEIR FORMER MASTERS. NOW THE NON-ALIGNED TOGETHER AID THESE INDIVIDUALLY STILL WEAK NATIONS TO RESIST THE PRESSURES AND ATTEMPTS AT NEW DOMINATION BY THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES.

-- SECOND, NON-ALIGNMENT ENABLES ITS MEMBERS TO FIGHT A NEO-COLONIALIST, EXPLOITIVE GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN WHICH A FEW DEVELOPED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NATIONS CONTROL MOST OF THE CAPITAL WHILE THE MAJORITY OF MANKIND REMAINS DESPERATELY POOR (HE IS CRITICAL OF EAST AS WELL AS WEST IN THIS REGARD). THUS HIS CALL FOR A NEW WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER BASED ON THE NEED SUBSTANTIALLY TO IMPROVE TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, CAPITAL FLOWS AND TERMS OF TRADE IN NON-ALIGNED'S FAVOR. IN SHORT KARDELJ DEMANDS FOR NON-ALIGNED A GREATER SHARE OF WORLD'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PIE AND IN FACT ALREADY SEES SOME "CHANGE IN POWER RELATIONS IN PRESENT-DAY WORLD".

-- THIRD, AND WITH THE SAME FORCE OF HISTORICAL IMPERATIVE AS THE PRECEDING TWO, KARDELJ BELIEVES THAT THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT SPURS THE PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF ITS MEMBERS' SOCIETIES. KARDELJ ASSERTS THAT WITH ALL

THEIR DIVERSITY, LARGE MAJORITY OF NON-ALIGNED  
HAVE ONE BASIC SOCIO-HISTORIC TENDENCY IN  
COMMON -- GREATER OR LESSER ORIENTATION TOWARDS  
SOCIALISM. THIS PUTS YUGOSLAVS IN COMPLEX  
SITUATION VIS-A-VIS SOVIET UNION ON ISSUES LIKE

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ANGOLA, EGYPT VS LIBYA, ETHIOPIA VS SOMALIA.  
ON ONE HAND THEY USUALLY END UP ON SAME SIDE, SUPPORTING  
MOST MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES. ON OTHER HAND  
KARDELJ IS ADAMANT THAT ITS SOCIALIST  
ORIENTATION DOES NOT MEAN "NON-ALIGNED CAN BE  
REDUCED TO SOME SORT OF POLITICAL PRESERVE FOR  
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS MOVEMENT" (READ  
MOSCOW). RESULT IS VIGOROUS YUGOSLAV EFFORT  
TO PERSUDE COUNTRIES LIKE ANGOLA NOT TO BECOME  
DEPENDENT ON SOVIET UNION, TO BE GENUINELY  
NON-ALIGNED AND NOT ANOTHER CUBA.

8. NON-ALIGNMENT HAS BEEN A GREAT SUCCESS FOR YUGOSLAVIA:  
GIVING IT CONSIDERABLE VISIBILITY AND THEREFORE A DEGREE  
OF SECURITY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION; ALLOWING IT AN  
IDEOLOGICALLY "PROGRESSIVE" BUT INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY;  
AND PROVIDING A VEHICLE THROUGH WHICH YUGOSLAVIA IS ABLE  
TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES OUT OF ALL  
PROPORTION TO ITS SIZE. FOR BOTH THE BROADER REASONS  
CITED IN PARAGRAPH SEVEN AND BECAUSE IT IS AT THE HEART

OF YUGOSLAVIA'S OWN SURVIVAL AND INFLUENCE, KARDELJ  
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WILL BE SEEKING IN WASHINGTON GREATER USG UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT  
FOR NON-ALIGNMENT. AS HE MENTIONED TO ME LAST WEEK, HE  
BELIEVES THE UNITED STATES IS LESS CLEVER THAN THE SOVIET  
UNION IN EXPRESSING SUPPORT AND THEREBY LOSES OPPORTUNITIES  
FOR COOPERATION WITH THE NON-ALIGNED.

HE IS QUICK TO PRAISE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S INITIATIVES  
IN THE THIRD WORLD AND WILL URGE US TO GO STILL FURTHER.

EAGLEBURGER

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## Message Attributes

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